

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SP-02 PM-03  
INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-10 TRSE-00 L-01  
IO-03 OMB-01 /054 W

----- 093108 /46

P 221245Z DEC 76  
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5885  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY  
USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T ANKARA 9690

LIMDIS

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, TU, UR  
SUBJ: TURKISH-SOVIET HIGH-LEVEL VISITS AND PROPOSED  
"POLITICAL DOCUMENT"

REF: A) ANKARA 9503 B) ANKARA 9396 C) ANKARA 9330

1. DURING A CALL DEC 21 ON MFA SECRETARY-GENERAL ELEKDAG,  
WE REVIEWED THE STATUS OF POSSIBLE PRIMIN DEMIREL AND/OR  
FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL VISITS TO THE USSR AND THE PROPOSED  
GOT-USSR "POLITICAL DOCUMENT." NO TRIP IS PRESENTLY  
SCHEDULED FOR THE PRIMIN, SAID ELEKDAG, BUT IT IS POSSIBLE  
THAT DEMIREL AND KOSYGIN MIGHT MEET AT THE ARPACAY RIVER  
DAM FOUNDATION-LAYING CEREMONY, NOW TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED  
FOR LATE MARCH. CAGLAYANGIL, ON THE OTHER HAND, WILL  
DEFINITELY GO TO MOSCOW ON FEBRUARY 9 FOR SEVERAL DAYS,  
AND THE SOVIETS HAVE PROPOSED AN AMBITIOUS PROGRAM  
FOR HIM. (ELEKDAG COMMENTED PARENTHETICALLY THAT HE  
WOULD LIKE TO ACCOMPANY THE FONMIN BECAUSE HE HAS NEVER  
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BEEN TO THE USSR AND BECAUSE OF THE IMPRESSIVE VISIT PROGRAM  
THE SOVIETS HAVE DEVELOPED.)

2. ELEKDAG REVIEWED THE CURRENT STATE OF PLAY  
WITH RESPECT TO THE "POLITICAL DOCUMENT." HE SAID WHAT  
HE WAS TELLING ME HAD NOT BEEN RAISED WITH NATO, AND FOR THE

PRESENT AT LEAST WAS MENT FOR THE U.S. ONLY RPT ONLY AND WAS NOT TO BE SHARED WITH OTHERS. TO POINT UP THE "EYES ONLY" NATURE OF OUR CONVERSATION, ELEKDAG TOLD HIS NOTE-TAKER NOT TO RECORD THIS PORTION OR OUR TALK. HE THEN PROCEEDED TO REVIEW RECENT TURKISH-SOVIET RELATIONS GOING BACK TO THE VISIT OF PREMIER KOSYGIN IN DECMEBER 1975, AT WHICH TIME THE SOVIETS EXTENDED AN INVITATION FOR A HIGH-LEVEL VISIT AND IT WAS AGREED TO DEVELOP A POLITICAL DOCUMENT. THE SOVIETS FOLLOWED UP ON THE LATTER SEVERAL MONTHS AGO WITH A DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR THE CONCLUSION OF A "FRIENDSHIP AND CONSULTATIVE AGREEMENT" (REFS B AND C). ELEKDAG DID NOT THINK THAT A "POLITICAL DOCUMENT" WOULD BE SIGNED DURING EITHER THE FEB 9 VISIT OR THE POSSIBLE ARNACAY MEETING, BUT HE THOUGHT THAT SOMETING MIGHT BE SIGNED LATER IN THE YEAR. CERTAINLY, HE SAID, IT WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE SIGNED BY CAGLAYANGIL DURING HIS FEBRUARY VISIT. THE SOVIETS ENVISION HIGHER LEVEL SIGNATURES.

3. REGARDING THE "POLITICAL DOCUMENT" ITSELF, ELEKDAG SAID THAT WHAT THE SOVIETS HAD EARLIER TABLED WAS A LENGTHY AGREEMENT THAT PROPOSED PERIODIC POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS AND BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS IN THE EVENT OF THREATS TO WORLD PEACE. THESE CONSULTATION PROCEDURES, ELEKDAG STRESSED, RAN COUNTER TO TURKEY'S NATO OBLIGATIONS. ALSO, THE SOVIET DRAFT DID NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE GOT'S OBLIGATIONS FOR CONTROLLING STRAITS TRANSIT UNDER THE MONTREUX CONVENTION. RECOGNIZING THAT THE SOVIET DRAFT WAS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY DEVELOPED A SEPARATE

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"POLITICAL DOCUMENT" OF SEVEN OR EIGHT PAGES WHICH HAS BEEN SUBMITTED TO FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL. (ELEKDAG NOTED THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT THE FONMIN'S COMMENTS OR DECISION WERE REGARDING THE "POLITICAL DOCUMENT" DRAFT BECAUSE HE HIMSLF WAS VISITING EAST GERMANY LAST WEEK; SEE SEPTTEL). THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S DRAFT "POLITICAL DOCUMENT", ELEKDAG CONTINUED, WAS AN EMBELLISHMENT OF THE "DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES OF GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS" ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF SOVIET PRESIDENT PODGORNYY'S VISIT TO TURKEY IN 1972. HE SAID THAT THESE PRINCIPLES WERE VERY GENERAL AND THAT THEY HAVE BEEN "UPDATED" TO INCLUDE REFERENCES TO DETENTE AND THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. ALSO, THE PRINCIPLES HAVE BEEN BEEFED UP REQUIRING THE SOVIETS TO ABJURE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AGAINST TURKEY. FINALLY, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY DRAFT AS PROPOSED TO FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL DOES NOT RPT NOT CONTAIN ANY PROVISION FOR JOINT CONSULTATIONS ON POLITICAL MATERS. ELEKDAG

CONCLUDED BY OFFERING THE OPINION THAT IT WOULD BE  
SOME TIME YET BEFORE THE DIFFERENCES IN THE TWO  
DOCUMENTS COULD BE SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATED.  
MACOMBER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, ALLEGATIONS, MINISTERIAL VISITS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 22 DEC 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976ANKARA09690  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760469-0917  
**From:** ANKARA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19761218/aaaaapoz.tel  
**Line Count:** 119  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** 76 ANKARA 9503, 76 ANKARA 9396, 76 ANKARA 9330  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 19 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <19 APR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <13 SEP 2004 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** TURKISH-SOVIET HIGH-LEVEL VISITS AND PROPOSED "POLITICAL DOCUMENT"  
**TAGS:** PFOR, TU, UR, US  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006